INTRODUCTION
TO THE
SATARA RAJA'S
AND THE
PEISHWA'S DIARIES.

BY

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION
TO
SHAHU CHHATRAPATI AND THE PEISHWAS' DIARIES.

During the past two or three years, most of my leisure time has been devoted to the perusal of the Selections from the Peishwa's Diaries, commencing with the accession of Raja Shahu, and ending with the close of the reign of Bajirao II. These Selections have been prepared by Rao Bahadur Wâd from the original Marathi record, and they make up in all about 20,000 folio pages, including the English summary prepared in the Daftar office. The Selections cover a period of over a hundred years (1708 to 1816-17) and they furnish most valuable materials for constructing a true history of the people of Maharashtra during the most eventful period of their annals. Our ordinary Bakhars, and the works written by English historians like Grant Duff, content themselves chiefly with the narration of political events, and throw little or no light upon the condition of the people, how they lived and thrived, the pleasures which amused them, their superstitions and their beliefs, their morals, their manners and their customs. These histories do not also give a clear account of the way in which the work of Government was carried on under native rule, how the land revenue was assessed and collected, how the forts were guarded, how the Sayer Revenues (consisting of Mohturfa, Abkari, Salt, Customs, and tributes &c.) were administered, how the armies were raised and paid for, how the navy was manned, how the State borrowed its public debt. how civil and criminal justice was dispensed, how the departments of police, post, mint, prisons, charities, pensions, public works, medical relief, and sanitation were regulated and controlled, how trade and commerce was encouraged and learning fostered. To many, it will be a matter of no little surprise to find that only a hundred years ago all these varied activities engrossed the attention of the native rulers, and they grappled with all the problems of Government, to a large extent successfully. They even went, as some might say, out of their way, in undertaking reforms of social economy with a courage which is thought in these days by some to be outside the functions of the State. In all these respects, these State Diaries, kept by responsible officers in the Peishwa's Daftar, are simply invaluable, and.

though they have their own defects, in the absence of better materials, they shed a flood of light upon the real movements and the hopes and fears, the strength and weakness of the people for over a century, and for purposes of instruction and guidance, they far outweigh in value the narratives of wars and conquests, dynastic changes, and revolutions, which take up so much space in our ordinary histories.

It is proposed in this paper to introduce this vast record to the attentive student of Maratha history, and with a view to give point to the lessons which it suggests, an attempt will be made to set forth the contrast between the causes, which helped the Maratha Confederacy in the first of the last century to spread its rule and influence over the whole of India and prevail over every country power, Musalman or Hindu, Sikh or Jat, Rohilla or Rajpoot, Kathis or Gujars, the Portuguese, the Nizam and Hyder in the Telangana and Dravid countries, and the circumstances which led, in the latter half, to the gradual dismemberment of that power. The dividing line which separates the two periods coincides with the transfer of sovereign power from the descendants of Shivaji and Shahu to the hands of the Brahmin Peishwas, when, on the death of Shahu, the Maratha capital was removed from Satara to Poona. The deed executed by Raja Shahu empowered the Peishwa to manage the whole government of the Empire on the condition of perpetuating the Raja's name, and keeping up the dignity of the house; and this deed was ratified, later on, by Shahu's successor Ram Raja, when he agreed to renounce all power on condition of a small tract near Satara being assigned to his own management. The battle of Panipat, which closed the flood-tide of Maratha conquest, may be regarded as a serviceable historical boundary-mark for this period. The next 60 years bring out, one by one, the weak points in the character of the rulers and of the nation generally, and show how the fall was hastened long before the English conquest of the country in 1817. This contrast will illustrate how the later Peishwas' policy departed from the principles laid down by Shivaji, and pursued with more or less fidelity by Rajaram and Shahu, and how their neglect of the true policy and their return to the old Brahminic ideals of exclusiveness and division sowed the seeds of decay, which ultimately hastened the downfall of the Confederacy.

Constitution.

The changes in the constitution of the Government under Maratha rule necessarily demand our first attention. In my paper on 'Shivaji as a Civil ruler' read before the Asiatic Society, I have described at some length the principal features of the constitution of the Raj-Mandal, or the Council of the State,

consisting of the eight chief ministers, including both civil and military functionaries. In the final arrangements adopted by Shivaji, there were two Sarnobats, or military members, one the Commander-in-chief of the Cavalry and the other of the Infantry. The Peishwa was the Prime Minister and executive head of the Concil. The Pant Amatya had the charge of the revenue and account departments; the Pant Sachiva or Soornis had the charge of all correspondence and record, and the Dabir or Sumant was minister in charge of foreign affairs. Another minister, the Mantri, was in charge of the house-hold and there were two purely civil functionaries, the Nyayadhisha, and Nyayashastri or Panditrao, who represented the judicial and ecclesiastical departments. None of these offices were hereditary, and there were frequent transfers fiom one office to another. The Peishwa's office, for instance, had been held by four difficrent families before it became hereditary in Balaji Vishvanath's line, after nearly a hundred years from its first creation. The offices of the Pratinidhi and the Sachiva and the Mantri, became hereditary after passing through three different families. The office of Commander-in-Chief became hereditary in the Dabhade family after it had been held by seven or eight chiefs, including Palkar, Gujar, Mohite, Ghorpade, Jadhav and other leaders. The same remark holds good of the other minor ministers. In the official order of precedence, the Peishwa was a smaller functionary than the Pant Pratinidhi, whose office was created by Rajaram at Jinji, and Pralhad Niraji was made the vice-gerent of the Raja. The fixed salary of the Pratinidhi was 15000 Hons, while for the Peishwa the salary was fixed at 13,000 Hons. The Mantri, Sachiva, and Senapati had 10,000 each, and the Nyayadhisha had 1000 Hons only. The old Pant Amatya went over to Kolhapur, and the Satara Amatya or Rajadnya occupied a comparatively subordinate place. All these officers had Saranjams besides, and special establishments. On the permanent establishments of these great departments, there were eight sets of officers, named Diwan, Mujumdar, Fadnis, Subnis, Karkhannis, Chitnis, Jamdar, and Potnis. By extending the principle of this subordination, certain officers, called Darakdar, Diwan, Fadnis, Mujumdar, &c. were attached to every District and every large military command. These subordinate officers were chosen by the central authority, and the commanders were required to have the work done by the hands of these men, whom they could not remove, and who prepared and submitted the final accounts to the central authority. The division of work was so arranged that the officers served as checks on one another, and this feature of inter-dependence and mutual control was reproduced in the

arrangements about the garrisons of forts, the Subha Armar or the naval establishment, and all the great offices connected with Customs. In the case of the forts, the three principal officers were selected from three different castes, the Havildar or the head being a Maratha, the Subnis being a Brahmin, and the Karkhannis a Parbhu. It was this constitution which kept up the Maratha power throughout the troubled times which followed Shivaji's death. Though Raja Sambhaji did not pay much attention to these internal arrangements, Rajaram followed his father's traditions faithfully, and set up his Ashtapradhan Council even at Jinji. Shahu on his accession to the throne, changed the Councillors, but retained the Council. Though each Councillor had his separate department, he was also a Military Commander, except in the case of the Nyayadhisha and Panditrao, and as in Shivaji's time, so under Shahu, the Pratinidhi and the Sachiva, the Mantri and the Amatya, assisted the State in its wars, as much as the Senapati and the Peishwa themselves The Council is frequently mentioned as holding Majlasi or meetings for purposes of consultation, adopting measures of State policy, dispensing justice, and maintaining the dignity of the State, both at home and abroad. The great Council meeting, where Bajirao advocated the forward policy of marching up to Delhi, and was opposed by the Pratinidhi, is a matter of history. On Shahu's death, a change for the worse took place. The predominance acquired by the Peishwas, by reason of the great services rendered by them, necessarily tended to diminish the importance of the other members of the Council. When the seat of power was removed from Satara to Poona, these offices became hereditary, but their holders ceased to be of much importance in the councils of the State. The two successors of Shahu were not personally fitted to wild the authority exercised in their name by the Peishwas. Though they were honoured as titular heads of the State, their movements were kept under strict control. In fact after the failure of Damaji Gaikwad's attempt to undo the grants of the sanads transferring the power to the Peiswa, as noted above, the Raja was kept a prisoner in the fort of Satara, and an establishment of about Rs. 30,000 a year was attached to his Court. It was not till the elder Madhaorao Peishwa showed more liberality towards the Raja that he could claim a garden for his pleasure-house, and attendants, musicians, and singers were attached to his Court, and a decent provision was made for his near relatives by Nana Fadnavis. In the nature of things, there was, however, nothing to prevent the continuance of the old arrangement of associationg the great Military and Civil Commanders in the Councils of the State, but the Peishwas apparently contented themselves with

ignoring the usefulness of the Raj-Mandal, and substituting in its place the subordinate purely civil officials, Fadnis, Mujumdar, and others, who, under the old arrangements, were attached to departments, and helped the ministers or district commanders. Of the Dar k lars, only two, Fadnis and Mujumdar, appear to have been retained by the Brahmin Government at Poona, and the rest, the Dewan, Karkhannis, Potnis and Jamdar, seem to havd been dropped, and the Peishwa's Fadnis superseded his superior the Mujumdar, and became virtually what Pant Pratinidhi was under Shahu's rule. This dimunition of the power of the Raj-Mandal, while it helped to strengthen the ascendency of the Peishwas over the whole kingdom, naturally led, in course of time, to the alienation of the great Commanders who had helped in Shahu's reign to extend the power of the Marathas over Gujarath, Malwa, Bundelkhand, Rajputana, Delhi, Bengal, Orissa and Nagpur. The Peishwa's own model served as an example to the several commanders who established themselves in power at Baroda, Indore, Gwalior, Dhar, Nagpur, and other places. The common bond of union which, in Shahu's time, held all the chiefs together, ceased to be operative, and in its place, each great commander, like the Peishwa, strove to be chief master in his territories, and only helped the common cause on occasions of great emergencies. Even the Peishwa's favourite commanders, Scindia, Holkar, and the Powars, followed the traditions of independence, which the Gaikwads, the Dabhades, and the Bhosles of Nagpur, who claimed to hold their possessions under Shahu's Sanads, had begun to cherish, as the equals of the Peishwas, in their own dominions. The later additions of Brahmin Sardars represented by the Patwardhans, the Fadkes and the Rastes in the South, the Vinchurkars and the RajeBahadars, the Bundeles, the Purandares, and the Bhuskutes in the North of the Deccan, naturally followed the same example, and by the time the first period ends with the battle of Paniput, where the whole nation was represented by its leaders, small and great, the bond of union became virtually dissolved; and though they joined together, on great occasions, such as at Kharda, and in the wars with the English, Hyder, and Tippu, the old solidarity of interest became a thing of the past. The constitution, which had served such great purposes under Shivaji, Rajaram and Shahu, in holding the nation together for a hundred years, gave place to a mere government by single chiefs, assisted by subordinates instead of equals, and naturally failed to evoke that spirit of patriotic co-operation which had achieved such wonderful results. In the forty years of rule enjoyed by Shahu, he was not merely a titular head of the Maratha Government; but he directed all

operations, ordered and recalled Commanders, and he exercised a great controlling power on the chiefs, though he led no armies in the field. It was due to his efforts that Gujarath was divided between the Peishwa and the Dabhades or Gaikwads in equal halves after the battle of Dabhoi. When Balaji Bajirao wanted to invade Bengal, Raghoji Bhosale protested at Satara, and Shahu was strong enough to enforce moderation even over the towering ambition of Balaji, and forced him to leave the Eastern provinces of India free for the development of the Bhosale's power. Bajirao was only a general under Shahu, and the Pratinidhis, Bhosles, Nimbalkars, Dabhades, Gaikwads, KadamBandes, Angres, Ghorpades, all respected his orders. When Shahu's great authority was withdrawn, this restraint was removed, and though the Peishwas succeeded in establishing their authority both over Jonoji Bhosale and Damaji Gaikwad, their submission was made reluctantly; and when the Peishwas themselves lost the advantage enjoyed by the first four members of the family, and minorities and internal dissensions commenced at Poona, neither the Gaikwads nor the Bhosles would concern themselves with the common weal, and though Scindia and Holkar, the Patwardhans, and the other chiefs showed more fidelity for a longer period, the balance of power was destroyed, and even Nana Fadnavis's genius could not compel these chiefs to subordinate their private interests to the general good, and they began to strengthen themselves by forming treaties of peace with foreign powers. Nana Fadnavis indeed tried to correct the mistake by setting up the Satara Raja's power after Sawai Madhaorao's death, but he found that this was impracticable, as the dismemberment had proceeded too far. If the Peishwas had continued true to the ancient Raj-Mandal, while substituting themselves as the deputies of the hereditary Rajas, had maintained the old constitution intact, and had not tried to rule the Empire by a machinery of subordinates, originally intended by Shivaji for particular offices and commands, there was no reason why the great purposes served by the Raj-Mandal under Shivaji, Rajaram, and Shahu, might not have been fulfilled with equal success in the times of their Brahmin ministers. This seems to be the principal point of departure between the old traditions and the new order of things established in their place at Poona, and it was a departure attended with disastrous effects. The change meant the conversion of the organic whole into an inorganic mass, and it reproduced the old Mahomedan methods of single rule, against which Shivaji had successfully struggled when he organized the Raj-Mandal.

One other general feature, which distinguishes the first period under Shivaji and Shahu from the period which followed the establishment of the Peishwa's power at Poona, relates to the fact that while most of the great Military Commanders in the earlier period were Marathas, with the notable exception of the Peishwas themselves, the men who rose to distinction in the latter half of the century were, for the most part, Brahmins. In the wars of Independence, Dhanaji Jadhav and Santaji Ghorpade made their mark as leaders, and the Nimbalkars, the Attoles, the Bhosles, the Powars, the Angres and the Dabhades distinguished themselves in the war, which led to the accession of Shahu to the throne. These were all Maratha leaders. In Shivaji's own time, the Brahmin leaders, Moropant Pingle, the Hanmantes, Abaji Sonadeo, Datto Annaji, and others played as prominent a part as did the Maratha Sirdars, Gujars, Mohites, Palkars, Kanks, and Malusares ; but in the wars of Indepenence, the Brahmin element chiefly exerted its influence in the Council, and not on the battle-field. In the time of the second Peishwa, the great leaders were Malhararao Holkar, Pilaji Jadhav, Ranoji Shinde, and his three sons. In Balaji Bajirao's time, the preponderance of the Maratha element continued and excepting the members of the Peishwa's family, the Brahmins made themselves useful chiefly as civilians. After the removal of the capital from Satara to Poona, a change took place in this policy, and we find that all the great commanders, who acquired fame and territory after 1760, were in the Deccan, almost exclusively, Brahmins. Even the Parbhu element ceased to be of any importance at the Poona Court, though it enjoyed considerable power at Baroda and Nagpur. The Shenvis (Goud Saraswat) rose to eminence in the Scindia's territory ; the Brahmin element in the great camps at Indore, Baroda, Gwalior and Nagpur occupied a very subordinate position. In the Deccan, however, the men who rose to power were all Brahmins, the Vinchurkars, the Raje Bahadars, the Bhuskutes, the Bundeles, the Khers, the Purandares, the Panses, the Biniwales, the Patwardhans, the Mehendales, the Gokhles, the Ekbotes, the Lagus, the Rastes, the Fadkes, the Pethes, and a host of other smaller names might be mentioned in support of this view. And even among the Brahmins, it so happened that later in the century, many of the Deshastha leaders took sides with Raghoba Dada, while the Konkanastha Sirdars followed the lead of the Poona ministers. Sakharam Bapu, the RajeBahadars, the Vinchurkars, and the Hinganes took part in these wars on Raghoba's side ; while the other Brahmin leaders, mentioned above, sided with the party opposed to Raghoba. When, in course of time, Bajirao II. suc-

Caste ascendency.

ceeded to the throne, he had no sympathy with the section which had followed Nana Fadnawis, and the Patwardhans, the Raste, and Nana Fadnawis himself were the objects of bitterest hostility. This infusion of the racial and caste element among the military leaders of the nation was the most distinguishing mark of the latter half of the century. There were parties within parties, with little chance of a common and active sympathy throughout all the classes, who had been held together with such successful results by Shivaji, Rajaram and Shahu. The first half of the century was singularly free from these racial and caste jealousies. In latter half, they had attained such prominence that concert was impossible, and each great leader naturally cared to pursue his own interest to the sacrifice of the common weal. The Brahmins at this time came to regard themselves as a governing caste with special privileges and exemptions, which were unknown under the system founded by Shivaji. The Konkanastha Brahmin Karkoons, who had the monopoly of all the Secretariat or Daftar offices, and received respectable salaries, obtained the privilege of having their goods exempted from Custom duties and terry charges when they imported grain and other goods from outside ports and places. The Brahmin land-holders in the Kalyan Prant, and also in Maval, had their lands assessed at half or lower rates than were levied from other classes. In Criminal Courts, the Brahmins had always enjoyed the exceptional privilege of exemption from the extreme penalty of the law, and even when they were confined in forts, they were more liberally treated than the other classes. Besides these advantages, they had the monopoly of the charities freely bestowed by the State on this class in consideration of their sanctity. The record which relates to the time of Bajirao II. bears ample testimony to the extent of the abuses which followed this indulgence. The Dakshana charity, started with a view to encourage learning, became a grant generally to all Brahmins, and Poona became the centre of a large pauper population. As many as 30 to 40 thousand Brahmins were fed for days together at State expense at the great festivals with the costliest viands. All these distinguishing features of purely sacerdotal or caste ascendency characterised the close of the century, and introduced a demoralisation of which few people have any correct idea. In the hands of the last Bajirao, the state ceased to be the ideal protector of all classes, and upholder of equal justice. Ramdasa's high ideal of the religion of Maharashtra was lowered down to one in keeping with the belief that the State had no higher function than to protect the cow and the Brahmin, and the usual consequences followed such a decadence of virtue.

The next point of departure relates to the army, which in fact represented the Maratha nation more faithfully than any other single section of the population.

Army.

Shivaji commenced his work of conquest of the forts round about Poona and in the Konkan with the help of the Mavales and the Hetkaries. The army then consisted only of the Hasham Infantry, who were armed generally with swords and matchlocks. When, later on, he descended into the plains, the Cavalry became the chief agency of offensive warfare in the hands of the Marathas. The old Mavales and Hetkaries were retained, but chiefly in commands of the Hill-forts. The cavalry, thus brought into existence, fought with the Moguls under Aurangzeb, and spread the terror of the Maratha name throughout India. They were not mercenaries in the usual sense of the word. They enlisted in the army either singly, or with their horses and men, for the fair season of the year, and when the rains approached, they returned to their homes, and cultivated their ancestral lands. The highest families gloried in being Shilledars and Bargirs, and their pride consisted in the number of troops or Pathaks that followed them, and the recruiting was done without any difficulty. The summons to arms was accompanied with a payment, called Nalbandi, made in advance for the expenses for joining the field with accoutrement and equipment of horse and man alike, and each trooper had his own favourite Commander, whose standard he followed. The strength of the Maratha Cavalry continued to be its most distinguishing feature till about the year 1750, when contact with the French and the British armies discovered the superior advantages, in modern wars, of regularly trained infantry battalions protected by artillery, the third arm in modern warfare. The successes of the English and the French induced the Maratha leaders to have recourse to this new agency, and, for the first time, we find mention made of the Gardis or the trained battalions. The weakness of this new addition to the Military force consisted in the fact that unlike the Mavales or the Shilledars, who each owned his plot of land and served the State, not as mercenaries, but as militia, the Gardis were mercenaries, pure and simple, made up of foreign recruits of different nationalities, who had to be paid fixed salaries all the year round, and only owed loyalty to the Commanders who paid them their wages. There was no national element in this new force. The first Maratha Gardis, employed by Sadashiva Rao Bhau, were composed of disbanded battalions of the French native army, led by the famous Ibrahimkhan Gardi. So great was Bhau's confidence in him that he, at Panipat, set at nought the wise counsels of the great Maratha leaders, who opposed the place of

entrenching themselves before the enemy and risking a pitched battle with the Afgans. The calamitous result of this over-confindence did not deter the Maratha Commanders from valuing highly the superior advantages of trained battalions disciplined in the European ways of war. Within ten years of the defeat at Panipat the Gardis, strengthened by this time by recruits from Arabs, Siddis or Abyssinians, Sheikhs, and other foreigners, were enlisted in large numbers at rates of pay often nearly equal to what was paid to the shilledar Cavalry for horse and man. The mercenary character of these men exhibited itself in the cruel death of Narayanrao Peishwa at their hands, and there was, for a time, reaction against their employment. The advantages were, however, so obvious that the old scruple soon vanished away, and in the new armies, created by Mahadaji Scindia in Hindustan, trained battalions of foreign mercenaries, officered by Europeans, outnumbered the old Cavalry, which was permitted to occupy only a secondary place. The success, which attended this effort, induced Holkar, Gaikwad, Bhosle, and lastly the Peishwas themselves, to engage foreign mercenaries and to rely chiefly on their support. Arabs, Gosawies, Sheikhs, and Portuguese battalions, were thus formed, and Bajirao II himself engaged two battalions, officered by English adventurers, towards the close of the century. Even the Hill-forts, which had been hitherto guarded by Mavales, were placed in charge of these mercenaries. The Infantry and the Cavalry elements in the native armies were thus elbowed out of their importance, and the army, instead of being national, became mercenary in the worst sense of the word. Attached to the regular armies, there was a licensed host of free-booters, called Pendharies, who accompanied them, and made a living by pillage of the enemy, and ultimately of their own people If the innovation of employing trained battalions had been accompanied by the acquisition of the requisite knowledge of military strategy and the scientific processes necessary to command success in the usef and manufacture of superior arms, the helplessness, which, in the absence o such knowledge, generally paralyzed the native armies, when their European officers left them, might have been avoided; but no care seems to have been bestowed in this direction, so that, when the actual crisis came and the European officers left them, they were more helpless than ever on the field. In the meanwhile, the martial instincts of the neglected Infantry and Cavalry forces underwent a change for the worse, so that when General Wellesly and Lord Lake broke down the strength of the battalions opposed to them, there was no power left in the country which could resist the conquest that followed as a matter of course. The old Infantry and Cavalry had lost their stamina, and the new mercenaries,

without leaders and without any knowledge of military science except the drill, were as ineffective as the Pendharis who accompanied them. It was this change which paralyzed the nation towards the end of the last century.

Navy.

A few remarks on the Navy may not be out of place here. The sea has always been a more or less strange element to the Marathas, except on the Western Coast. Though Shivaji had the strength of mind to organize a navy and place it under a Mahomedan Commander, who plundered far to the south on the Malabar coast and fought with the Siddis, it was not till the Angrias rose to power that the Marathas were able to dominate the sea-coast, and hold the Moghul admiral in check. Under the Peishwas, the Subha Armar was a part of the regular establishment, with its headquarters at Vijayadurg and a subordinate establishment at Bassein, which was also called the second Subha Armar. Mention is frequently made of the struggles carried on by the fleet of the Angrias with the English, till at last the Peishwa Balaji Bajirao co-operated with the English and helped them to crush Angria's power on land and sea in 1756. Balaji Bajirao had organized a plan by which the mercantile vessels, which traded from port to port, might be utilized for defensive purposes by enlisting the Tandels and Sarangs in private employ on increased pay when their services were wanted by the Government. Nothing came of this proposal. Anandrao Dhulap and his son Janrao continued to be the Peishwa's admirals in charge of the navy at Vijayadurg, but no great use was made of this force, except for the protection of commerce and the occasional over-throw of pirates from the Cutch and Gujarath side. Altogether, in assisting the English to put down Angria's power, the Peishwas diminished the importance of their own navy for defensive and offiensive purposes.

Forts.

To turn next to the Forts. In the best times of the Maratha rule, more than 200 forts were garrisoned in all parts of the country. Shivaji understood the duties of a king to include the preservation of the forts as a matter of special concern, and elaborate regulations were made for the garrisons stationed in the forts. The defenders of the forts had lands assigned to them for their maintenance, and room was found for the employment of all classes, Brahmins, Marathas, Ramosis, Mahars, Mangs &c. These latter performed out-post duties. Besides the garrisons specially attached to the forts, detachments of regular Infantry were stationed in the larger forts for protection. Later on, Portuguese artillery-men were employed, and

guns were mounted on the battlements of the forts in some places. In the Carnatic, Gardis were employed on similar duties as a check on the Canarese garrisons. The old system was departed from in the employment of these mercenaries, and even the old garrisons were shifted from one place to another for supposed reasons of State. Under the later Peishwas, these forts appear chiefly to have served the double purpose of state granaries and State prisons. State prisoners were sent to the forts for custody, and the condemned criminials of both sexes were sent there for penal servitude. In the latter half of the century, the forts are chiefly mentioned in this connection. Against the more improved means of warfare, represented by the artillery, these Hill-forts ceased to be valuable for purposes of defence, and in many places they were neglected and allowed to go into dis-repair. In the wars with the English, the forts offered little or no protection, and submitted without firing a shot. The Army, the Navy and the Forts were thus, by the course of events and the neglect of the State, rendered incapable, for different reasons, of doing any service in the latter half of the last century.

Public debt.

While in these higher spheres of statesmanship and the art of Government, the lines of departure pursued by the later Peishwas and their ministers indicated visible signs of decay, it must in justice to them be admitted that in the matter of the revenue and judicial management, the Government at Poona showed gteat powers of application, careful elaboration of detail, and an honest desire to administer well the charge entrusted to them. The financial condition of the State was decidedly more prosperous than the hand-to mouth system which characterised the first half of the last century. It is well known that all the great Maratha leaders, including Bajirao I, always found it difficult to raise the monies required for their great expeditions into Hindustan, and the information given in the Diaries of the debts, contracted by Balaji Bajirao between 1740 and 1760, shows a total of a crore and a half of public debt. The strain rapresented by this amount will be better understood when it is mentioned that the Peishwa's Government had to pay from 12 to 18 per cent. interest on these loans. Owing to the great collapse at Panipat, things did not much improve in the elder Madhaorao Peishwa's time. That Prince had a heavy load of debt, amounting to some 24,00,000 Rs., which had to be satisfied by the assurance given at his death-bed by the ministers about him that his bonds would be discharged there and then. Under Nana Fadnavis's careful management, the finances appear to have greatly improved, and the accounts do not show that the debts contracted by him

exceeded a few lacs. The last Peishwa had apparently no debts to pay, but was able to collect a large private treasure of his own.

Revenue management.

The system of revenue management under Balaji Bajirao, Madhavrao, and Nana Fadnavis was, on the whole, careful. New sources of revenue were developed, and the old improved. The land settlements made by the Peishwas during this period show that, while anxious not to oppress the rayats, every care was taken to insist on the rights of the Government. Whenever the country needed that relief, leases varying from three to seven years were granted on the terms of 'Istawas' i. e. gradually increasing assessments. The old 'Kamal' figures (maximum amounts ever realized) of village and Pargana revenues were, of course, seldom collected and were never meant to be realized. These amounts were reduced by the Government, so as to suit the conditions of the population and ensure their general prosperity, in fixing the 'Tankha' or realizable revenue, under the Mahomedan rule; and the Peishwas made large reductions in the 'Tankha' figures, whenever owing to war or famine, enquiries showed that such reductions had become necessary. Wherever the Batai or system of crop division obtained, the Government, after ded cting for seeds and other necessary charges paid by the rayats, left $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the crop to the cultivator, and took the rest for the State. In Shivaji's time, the proportions are stated to have been $\frac{2}{5}$ and $\frac{3}{5}$. The Batai system was not much in favor, but grain and proportionate cash rents prevailed throughout the country. In the South Konkan, the normal assessment appears to have been 10 maunds per bigha of rice land paid in kind. This amount was reduced to 9 and even 8 maunds in certain Districts, on complaint being made that it was too exhorbitant. When cash payments were required, or were convenient to the rayats, they were fixed at the low amount of 15, 20, or 30 Rs. per Khandy according to season. The Brahmins had to pay lighter rates of 5 maunds or there-abouts in Northern Konkan. In a settlement of the Neral Taluka, the cash rates were from 3 to 5 Rs. per bigha, according to the quality of the soil; and the sugar-cane rate was 5 Rs. per bigha. In the Nasik District, where the cash rates prevailed, Rs. 2 per bigha for good black soil, and Rs. I for middling soil of Jirait land, and 5 to 6 Rs. for Bagait lands were deemed to be reasonable rates. In the Khed Taluka, Poona District, the rate in the time of Bajirao II was 3 Rs. per bigha. In the less favoured parts of the Satara District, the rates are stated to have ranged from $1\frac{3}{4}$ maunds to 6 maunds per bigha according to the quality of the soil. In Gujarath, the rates were much higher.

Large remissions were made, whenever the seasons were found to be unfavourable. Under the old revenue system cultivated lands alone paid revenue, and in bad years the revenues fell, and remissions had to be constantly made in the State accounts. The revenue management at the commencement of Bajirao II's rule was conducted on the Kamavishi principle *i. e.* the Kamavisdar or Mamalatdar and his establishment and contingencies were all paid by the State, the general proportion of charges being about 10 per cent. on the collection. The number and pay of the Karkoons and the Shibandi *i. e.* the horsemen and sepoys were carefully fixed in a sort of budget or Beheda statement, and the Kamavisdar had thus little or no motive to practise oppression. The Jamabandi made by him had to be approved by superior officers called Subhas and Sir Subhas, and the complaints of the Jamidars, village authorities, and rayats were listened to and redressed by the removal and punishment of these officers when they misconducted themselves. The Kamavisdar, though appointed for one year, held the office during good behaviour. In the time of the second Bajirao, the Kamavishi system gave place to what was called the Ijara or farming system, the Ijardar undertaking to pay his own establishment and making profit for himself, after paying the State-dues and certain secret payments to the Peishwa himself, which were not brought to the State account, but were credited in his Khasgi or private treasure. If we except these Ijara abuses introduced by the last Peishwa, the Kamavishi management was as carefully looked after under Maratha rule, as in the best times of any native or the British rule, before or after. Mr. Grant Duff has admitted that the weak points of the system told more against the interests of the State than on individuals, and that the Maratha country was more thriving than any other part of India in proportion to its fertility. The whole country was divided into about twelve Subhas, each Subha consisting of Parganas or Mamalat divisions, or Taluka divisions as we now call them. These Subhas were (1) Khandesh, 30 Parganas, including Baglan. (2) Nemad Prant, Handa –5, (3) Poona and Nagar–18, (4) Konkan–15, (5) Gangathadi, including the Nasik District–25; (6) Gujarath Prant–20, (7) Carnatic, (8) Satara with Wai and Karad, (9 & 10) the Customs Subhas, Poona and Junnar, and Kalyan and Bhiwandi, and (11 and 12) the two Armar Subhas, Vijayadurga and Bassein.

Remissions.

The Kamavishi System.

Ijara or farming system.

Revenue Divisions.

The village autonomy was not interfered with. The Patil and the Kulkarni were responsible for the collections, and received their dues independently of the Government. Security of the sowkars had to be given for the payment of the year's revenue, and the village rayat had a joint responsibility. The country, on the whole, was prosperous.

Village autonomy.

The rates of wages were from Rs. 3 to 7 for menials and sepoys, and for higher artisans, very much what they now are outside the great towns, from 6 to 10 annas per day. The Karkoon's wages were generally Rs. 7 to 10 per month. The prices of food stuffs were generally more unsteady than they are now, but it may be roughly stated that staple grains, Jwari and Bajri, were about three to four times as cheap as they now are. The rates of wages being, on an average, half of what they have been for many years past, while the prices were 3 to 4 times as cheap, the people had ample resources during good seasons, and no great famine is recorded during this period, though partial famines are frequently mentioned. There was no dearth of remunerative employment throughout this period, by reason of the large wealth acquired from the successes of the Marathas in foriegn conquest, and there was thus no pressure felt of the land tax and other cesses, except in the Border provinces devastated by wars. Oppression seems to have been rare, as the people had the remedy in their own hands, of either putting down the oppressor, or migrating to other territories for a time. Besides granting remissions, for seeds or improvements the Peishwa's Government encouraged the Kamavisdar to make Tagai grants to the cultivators, as also for rebuilding houses, when destroyed by fire, and supplying cattle. The Government also undertook public works such as constructing dams, building roads in the ghats, and landing places on river-banks, digging tanks, and securing water supplies to towns, and several such large items are found in these accounts. The advances to the cultivators were made for short periods, one or two years, but the Kamavisdars were lenient, and they were generally not removed till these advances had been repaid. In cases where such removal took place, the successor was required to pay off the previous holder. Owing to the necessities of the State, the Government frequently borrowed of the Kamavisdar the instalments in advance of the time fixed. On such advances, the State agreed to pay 12 per cent. interest to the Kamavisdar, till the debt was

Wages and Prices.

Tagai advances.

Public Works.

Forced labour or wetha.

paid off. Under the earlier Peishwas, the system of forced labour or 'Wetha' was extensively in use, and caused great annoyance to the poorer classes and artisans who were subjected to it. In the first Madhaorao's time, these grievances were partially redressed, and money payments were allowed to be substituted, to the convenience of both the parties. The State in this respect was more liberal than private matters. The general impression, left on one's mind by the study of the revenue portion of the record in these Diaries, is on the whole very favourable, and it will be difficult to show that there has been, during the last eighty years, any decided improvement in his respect.

Other taxes.

Besides the land-tax, a number of other cesses were levied, chief among them being the house-tax, and shop-tax, called the 'Mohturfa.' In the Konkan Districts, tobaco imports were taxed at the Revadanda and other ports. The manufacture of salt was made to yield a small income at Nagotna and at Bhyndar near Bassein, the duty being at Nagotna Rs. 2-10-0 per Khandy, and at Bhyndar ~~Rs~~ 1-6-0 per Khandy on salt produced. These rates were 20 to 31 times lighter than what are now charged by Government. Toddy and Cocoanut trees were taxed when, tapped for drawing liquor, in Bassein and the territories held previously by the Portuguese on the Konkan coast. This last tax had been introduced on the express representation of the Bhandaris and the rayats of those parts, who complained that they could not carry on their trade without the use of some kind of liquor. No revenue was derived form Abkari except in the Konkan, and a little receipt from liquor farms near Poona itself. There were similarly petty taxes on the production of ghee, grazing fees, marriage fees, the buffalo tax and the right of catching fish in some places. The ferries were in general free of all charges, being kept by the State, but in some cases, farms were given for the collection of revenue from the more frequented ferries. These were very late creations, suggested by the greed of petty farmers, and yielded very scanty revenue. When the Ijara system was introduced by the second Bajirao, the abuses consequent on the farming system necessarily multiplied, and must have caused considerable annoyance and oppression. Under the Kamavishi system, which prevailed before, the inducements to oppression were, as stated above, not so powerful, and they were checked by the Subhas and Sirsubhas corresponding with our Commissioners. There were 5 such officers in the Konkan,

Salt.

Abkari.

Ferries.

Carnatic, Khandesh, Gujarath and Baglan. On the whole, the Peishwa's Government kept up the reputation of a mild native rule. There was no separate department of Sea Customs, except the revenues assigned to the Subha Armars, under the Peishwas, but the Land Customs, levied on the transport of goods, yielded a considerable revenue, and the Customs Subhas, as they were called, of Kalyan and Bhivandi, Poona and Junnar, were especially prosperous. The Kalyan and Bhivandi Subhas yielded in Balaji's time a sum of Rs. 55,000, and it developed to, 3,00,000 Rs. towards the close of the century, and the income of the Poona Subha increased from 35,000 Rs. to nearly a lakh. The town duties in Poona itself were farmed and yielded a considerable revenue, chiefly from octroi on goods imported and exported and on sales of cloth, tobaco, and other necessaries of a town population. Similar duties were levied at Ahmedabad, on the scales originally laid down by the Emperors of Delhi. The revenue management thus reflected no little credit on the ingenuity and skill of the Brahmin ministers and their District and Pargana officers, and little fault can be found as regards the way in which these resources were developed and administered.

Customs.

Jakat or Land. Customs.

The proper administration of civil and criminal Justice may well be regarded as a more decisive test of the efficiency and success of native rule than the collection of the land revenue, the cesses and the customs. Judged by this test, it must be said to the credit of the Brahmin Peishwas that, while they did not reconstitute any of the other departments of the State included in the Raj-Mandal, they revived the office of the Nyayadhisha at Poona, and entrusted him with the fullest powers in disposing of civil and criminal cases, which, in the last resort, came up before the Poona Court by way of appeal, or original trial, or confirmation, from the Subordinate District Officials. This creation of the office of the Nyayadhisha appears to have taken place about the year 1760, and the choice of Rama Shastri for the post was a peculiarly happy one, and brought honour and credit to the Government. The office was continued after Rama Shastri's retirement, and seems to have been filled by equally learned men, the last of whom was Balkrishna Shastri Tokekar, who lived in the reign of Bajirao II. The general arrangement appears to have been that the Kamavisdar, besides his revenue duties, had both civil and criminal powers attached to his office, and the proceeds of civil and criminal fine, upto a certain amount, in petty cases of assault, theft and similar offences, as also the payments

Justice.

Rama Shastri.

made by the civil suitors who gained or lost their cases, formed a regular source of his income, though he had to account to the State for these receipts. All accounts of fine above the prescribed limit were credited to the State account. Besides the new Chief Court started at Poona, it further appears that small Provincial Courts with limited jurisdiction, to help the Kamavisdar or Subhedar, were also established in some of the Districts. In civil cases, the fines paid by the successful suitor and his defeated antagonist were respectively called 'Harki' and 'Gunhegari,' and the total of civil fines thus recovered seems to have been about 15 per cent. on the value of the matter in dispute, the Gunhegari being about twice the figure for the Harki. In our modern sense of word, Small Cause suits for money due from debtors were very rare under the Maratha rule. As the creditors generally enjoyed large powers of enforcing their dues, by detaining debtors &c., the State-help was only required in the case of powerful persons, and in such cases 25 per cent. of the recoveries so made were claimed by the State as a charge for its help. Civil litigation was chiefly confined to Vatan, Adoption, Partition, Partnership, Boundary disputes, and other cases of a like character. The decision was made to rest chiefly on the evidence of the witnesses on both sides, who were examined under the sanction of the most effective oaths and solemn asseverations on the waters of the sacred rivers. After the parties had stated their respective cases, the witnesses' testimony was first recorded, and then the men were called upon to choose their arbitrators from their own or neighbouring villages, and the decision of the Kamavisdars gave effect to the views of the arbitrators. In very rare cases, where the evidence was conflicting, or no evidence could be secured, recourse was had to ordeal, and the decision depended upon the result. Out of some seventy contested cases, the decisions in which are recorded at length in these Diaries, the test of ordeal was made to regulate the verdict in six cases, and even in these six cases, there were only two occasions when the parties challenged each other to the ordeal of fire. In the other four cases, bathing in the river sufficed to bring out the truth. There was no room for the employment of pleaders. The parties had the right to carry their appeals to the head of the Government, who, if not satisfied with the arbitration, called on the parties to select a new Punch, to whom the case was referred. In all big civil cases, the decision appears to have been brought into force after reporting to the central authorities.

Civil Cases.

Money Suits.

Vatan Suits.

In regard to criminal justice, it deserves to be noted that under Shahu Raja and the earlier Peishwas, the only punishments judicially administered were penal servitude, imprisonment, in the forts, confiscation of property, fine, and in a few cases, banishment beyond the frontiers. Capital punishment or mutilation appears to have been studiously and religiously avoided, even in cases of murder, treason, or dacoity. Mutilation was inflicted in a few cases in the reign of Madhaorao I; but even in the troublous times in which he lived, capital punishment was never inflicted. In Savai Madhaorao's time, under Nana Fadnavis there seems to have been a clear departure from this mild administration of the law, and cruel mutilation and wholesale capital punishments were inflicted on criminals convicted of murder, treason or dacoity. The Brahmins and women of all castes were exempted from capital punishment. In the case of Brahmins, confinement in the fort was the highest punishment and the civil penalties were joined with religious penalties, including excommunication. The cruel punishments, inflicted in Nana Fadnavis' time, seem to have been the result of internal dissensions, which began to disturb the public peace in the time of Madhaorao I and increased in virulence when Raghoba Dada contested the throne. A comparative statement of figures compiled from the Selections will bring out this point more distinctly than any description in words.

Criminal.

In Shahu's time their were 8 trials for murder, in 5 of which the accused were acquitted, and only in three, the accused were convicted and fine and imprisonment were imposed. In the last ten years of Balaji Bajirao, there were 20 trials for murder, in 3 of which the persons charged were acquitted, in 8, heavy fines were imposed, and in the remaining 6, confiscation of property was the only punishment awarded. When property was confiscated, steps were taken to make compensation to the heirs of the murdered persons by making a grant to them out of the confiscated property. In the time of Madhaorao I, there were 7 cases, in which persons were tried for murder. Fines were levied in 3, and Vatans were confiscated in 3 other cases, and in one, where the murderer was a Brahmin, confinement in the fort was ordered. In Nana Fadanavis' time, capital punishment was awarded in two cases, involving a number of criminals, and other cases of murder were disposed of by the award of imprisonment, fine and confiscation. In Bajirao II's time, two cases of murder are mentioned in these Selections, in which Brahmins were the offenders, and they were sent to prison. The punishment for petty treason, *i. e.*, for creating a rebellion or joining the enemy, was,

Murder.

Treason.

throughout the whole period, confinment in the forts, or confiscation of property. As regards persons convicted of political treason by way of attempts on the person of the Peishwas, or waging war against the State, the punishment meted out was that the criminal was trampled under the foot of an elephant. In dealing with armed dacoities, Madhaorao I and Nana Fadnavis inflicted more cruel punishments than in the case of private murders. Mutilations of hands and feet, which apparently disfigured the annals of criminal administration up to 1760, were first ordered in Madhaorao's reign, and in Nana Fadnavis' time whole-sale executions were ordered of the criminals locked in the gaols and convicted of this charge. In one case, 20 men were beheaded, in another, 13 men had their both hands and feet cut off, and in the third case, 18 men had their either hand or foot or ear cut off. These cruel punishments appear to have been extensively resorted to with a view to strike terror. Later on, these extreme penalties were inflicted even in cases of robberies, which did not come under the head of dacoities, or in which the members of the criminal tribes were not concerned. The punishment for robbery generally was fine or imprisonment in the forts. For adultery in the case of women, the punishment was imprisonment with penal servitude in the forts or in the Kothis, *i. e.* State stores, where they were made to grind corn, and in the case of men, imprisonment or fine.

Dacoity.

Robbery.

Adultery.

As regards women convicted of adultery, condemned to penal servitude, or service in the Kothis or Stores, it may be noted that they lost their status and freedom, and were treated as slaves. Their progeny especially was regarded as the children of no father, but were only known by their mother's names. The ranks of these condemned slaves had accession made to them of other persons from the lowest classes who lived by prostitution, and children captured in foreign territory by Banjaris or Lamans, who brought them for sale in Peishwa's territory. Slavery so recruited thus became a recognized institution, and men and wome-slaves were transferrable like the dumb cattle from one owner to another for money consideration. When the slaves grew old, some of them were released from prisons, and the private slaves were also set free by their owners from charitable considerations. The slaves, on the whole, appear to have been kindly treated, especially those women-slaves who were made to work in the Peishwa's Kothis, or in private houses.

Slaves.

There was one kind of criminal offence not known to our modern code, which seems to have been severely punished under the Peishwas. It refers to the charge of casting evil spirits, and offences under this head seem to have been an important feature of criminal administration, especially in the Konkan. In fact, under the last two Peishwas, regular officers with establishments were employed for the discovery and punishments of witches and wizards who were accused of troubling their neighbours by the agency of evil spirits. It formed a part of the Police duty of the District officers to exterminate the evil spirits. For perjury and forgery, the usual punishment was fine, and imprisonment where fine could not be levied by reason of poverty. Cow-killing was punished severely. False coinage, and offences regarding weights and measures were punished with fines and imprisonment. Abduction and seduction, theft and cheating were punished with fines. This brief conspectus of the way, in which criminal justice was administered, will show that, except under Nana Fadnavis, the administration of the law was never vindictive or cruel, but was sympathetic and mild to a degree unknown before or since. The punishments were adequate to the offence and not too severe. Nana Fadnavis' administration was exceptional for the reasons stated above, and he appears to have been equally severe in the way in which he treated his political enemies. Sakharampant Bapu, who was at one time a pillar of the State, was imprisoned in the forts for the part he took in siding with Raghoba Dada, and the same fate over-took Raghoba's other friends, chiefly Parbhus, Raghunath Hari, Baburao Hari, and others. Nana Fadnavis' own near relative Moro Baburao was similarly sent to prison, and in Bajirao II's time, Nana Fadnavis had himself to share the same fate. The strife of the parties seems to have been much more bitter in those days than was the case under the first three Peishwas. State prisoners were treated with leniency in those days. This generosity was not shown to the friends and followers of Raghoba Dada, or the Pretender's followers, who were mostly Brahmins holding high offices.

Casting evil spirits.

Perjury.

Cow-killing.

Other offences.

State prisoners.

As regards the Police, the Kamavisdar, with his Shibandi force of horse and foot, constituted the regular Police defence of the country. In the villages, the Patil and Kulkarni, and the Jaglias or watchmen, consisting of Mahars and Mangs, secured their internal quiet, and in the large villages or towns,

Police.

each man had to do watch duty at the Chowdi by turns. Besides the

City Kotwals.

Shibandis and the village Police, in large towns Kotwali establishments were organized for the detection and the punishment of crime, and we find that Kotwals were appointed at Poona, Nasik, Pandharpur, Nagar, Satara, Wai, Ahmedabad, Burhanpur, Trimbak, and other towns. This Kotwali establishment

Conservancy.

had also the charge of the conservancy of the cities, and scavengers were provided and paid for by cesses levied from the householders. The appointments of scavengers were made at Poona, Nagar, Phandharpur, Nasik, and other places The Kotwals at Poona, Nagar, Pandharpur, Junnar, and Nasik had powers of Magistrates in miscellaneous cases, which, in the districts, were disposed of by the Kamavisdars.

In the Miscellaneous Departments, Mints occupied an important

Mints.

place. I have treated the subject of the Mints under the Maratha rule in a seperate paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society. The Post Office did not occupy any

Post.

recognized position under the Maratha rule. Special agencies were employed on particular occasions, when the armies went to Hindustan or to the Karnatic. These special agencies consisted of special Jasuds or Kassids *i. e.* runners, who apparently took 18 days to go to Delhi from Thalner, and 13 days from Maheshwar, and they were paid handsomely, 3 Rs. a day, the amount being regulated inversely accordng to the number of days they took for the journey. When the Peishwas had to correspond with Calcutta, they sent their Jasuds to Burhanpur, and thence these runners took on the post to Benares where an English officer, in charge of postal arrangements, dispatched the Peishwa's post to Calcutta. In the wars in the Karnatic, the Paishwas found it necessary to organize special postal arrangements from Poona to Badami, and sixty men were employed to carry the daily post to and fro while the war lasted. Beyond these stray efforts, no regular State Postal Service for private or official use appears to have been maintained, and the private work was done by the employees of Sawkars, who made these long journies to carry remittances,at stated intervals, andtook the private post of those who cared to correspond with their distant relations.

As regards Medicine, the function of the State in the distribution

Medicine.

of charitable relief was not recognized beyond the fact that well-known Hakims and Vaidyas were

honoured with grants of villages, and were often supplied with other necessary help for the preparation of medicines. The Hakims were in requisition for the army, and were valued chiefly as surgeons. There is only one mention made of a Gujarathi native doctor, who supplied medicines gratis at Nasik, and was rewarded with Jahagir, which was continued to his son, as he maintained the dispensary. There was another native Vaidya, for whom a sort of a botanical garden at Wai was provided for the cultivation of rare drugs, and he was supplied with other help for the preparation of medicines from them. These scanty notices are all that can be gathered from the Selections as regards the way in which this most important State function of charitable relief was discharged.

Military pensions.

The State was more liberal in the rewards it gave in the case of soldiers who lost their lives on the battle-field. Hundreds of such instances are mentioned in the Selections, where the heirs of the deceased were rewarded with Inams, or maintenance-allowances were made to the widows and children, and in some cases, the office held by the father was conferred on the son. In making these awards, no distinction was made between Brahmins and Marathas, or Hindus and Mahomedans. All those, who had received wounds or had died in the service of the State, were generously treated without distinction.

Religous Charities.

The same liberality was shown in the distribution of grants to religions. The bulk of the benefactions were conferred upon Brahmins, as might be expected, but the old Mahomedan grants were continued to Dargas and Mosques, and many new grants were made to Mahomedans and even Christians, the last especially in the Konkan. There was a singular absence of any religious prejudice in the distribution of this charity. These Dewasthan and Varshasan allowances, granted by the State under the Maratha rule, make up a very large total, exceeding many lacs, which attest to the generosity of the State in this respect.

Honorific titles.

Under Raja Shahu, the function of the State of ganting honorific titles on deserving officials found considerable scope, and on the model of the Delhi Emperors, high-sounding titles were freely bestowed on Hindu Generals and Commanders Under the later Peishwas, this function was more sparingly excercised, and the honors conferred took the form chiefly of allowing the officer the dignity of riding in a Palkhi or having the permission to employ a

person to hold an Abdagir, for which a separate allowance was made by the State.

Encouragement to trade.

In regard to the encouragement of trade, the Selections show that in Balaji Bajirao's time, the Punna Diamond mines in Bundelkhand were worked to advantage under concessions granted by the Peishws. Traders from Arabia were encouraged to settle in the Konkan ports. Their trade was chiefly in horses, and they were allowed to enter the territory free of Cu toms duty. Similar favours were shown to the European traders who sought admission for their goods into the country. Liberal concessions were made for enlarging the limits of the more prosperous towns by grant of land, exemptions, and Vatans to those who undertook to bring foreign settlers and induced them to build new houses, and open new Bazars. The silk and embroidery industry of Poona was entirely due to the encouragement given to the foreign settlers from Barhanpur, Paithan, and other towns to come and live under the Peishwa's protection on house-sites which were granted free to them. Individual merchants were encouraged in large towns to open shops with the help of Government advances. The prosperity of Poona attracted a large numeber of people to come and settle there of their own accord, so that Poona, which was before 1748 only a small Kasba town, developed into the proportions of a city, which it now exhibits in its 16suburbs or Peiths, all of them established by private citizens under State patronage, and named after the principal Sardars or of the members of the Peishwa family.

Extension of Poona.

Enconragement of learing.

Reference has already been made to the Dakshina grant paid to Shastris, Pundits and Vaidiks. This Dakshina was insituted in the first instance by the Senapati Khanderao Dabhade, and when, on the death of that officer, his resources were curtailed, the charity was taken over by the State into its own hands. Disbursements increased from year to year, till they rose to Rs. 60, 000 in Nana Fadnavis' time. These Dakshina grants redeemed to a certain extent the reprehensible extravagance of Bajirao II's charities. Learned Sanskrit scholars from all parts of India-from Bengal, Mithil or Behar and Benares, as also from the South, the Telangan, Dravid and the Karnatic-flocked to Poona, and were honoured with distinctions and rewards, securing to them position throughout the country which they highly appreciated. Some four lacs of rupees were annually disbursed by Bajirao II in his charities. The ordinary Brahmins were served with

food in the Ramana gathering or open enclosures, while the learned people who refused to take part in the miscellaneous assembly, were invited to the Peishwa's Palace and were honoured with Shawls, and money gifts according to their tested merits. The amount thus came to a lac and a quarter. The remaining three lacs were spent on the Ramana charity. The result of this munificence brought credit to Poona as a city of learning, and this credit it continued to enjoy even after the down-fall of the Peishwas, as long as the old Pathashala was maintained out of the Dakshina grant by Mr Elphinstone and his immediate successors. Times have altered since then, and the Dakshina grant has been utilized for similar purposes which have popularized the study of Sanskrit literature and philosophy among all classes of students. No direct encouragement was given to other than the Sanskrit Pandits, but the Puraniks, and Haridasas were regarded as being equally entitled to special grants with Vaidiks and Shastris, and these were noted for their command and skill in the exposition of the great Maratha poets. Rich Sardars patronized Marathi learning as, for instance, the great Maratha poet Moropant had for his patron the Baramatikar Joshis. As regards the lower classes, the national fondness for *Powadas* and *Lawanis*, contributed to the rise of ballad and love poetry, and some of the most noted composers of this kind of literature derived encouragement from Bajirao II's support. These brief notices of the miscellaneous activities of the State will suffice to recommend the subject to the fuller consideration of those students of our past history, who might be inclined to pursue their researches further into the old record.

Superstitions.

Perhaps the most interesting and permanently useful information furnished by these records is that which relates to the social changes attempted by the Maratha Government. It is not to be supposed for a moment that the Brahmin leaders, who were entrusted with the government of the country, had not their full share of the implicit belief in the superstitions of the time. Reference has already been made to the attempted regulations of the practice of exercising evil spirits, whose agency was, it was believed, utilized by evil-doers to ruin their enemies. Belief in omens and prognostics was common to all classes. It is recorded that a student cut off his tongue, and another Gujarathi devotee cut off his head by way of offering it to the deity he worshipped, and in both the cases, the events were reported to the Government by the local officials, and large sums were spent to purify the temples and ward off the dangers threatened by

these unholy sacrifices. People were filled with alarm, when it was reported that an earthquake had disturbed the Kalyan Taluka. A fortress on the Ghats was believed to have suffered injury from the influence of evil sight, and another fortress, a few years later, was rendered unfit for occupation by the prevalence of an unaccountable disease. In all these three cases, steps were taken to pacify the elements by general purification. The donee of a Jahagir village prayed to Government to resume the grant and exchange it for some other, as the gift became undesirable on account of the prevalence of evil spirits. Partial and local famines gave frequent trouble in those days, and large sums were spent in employing Brahmins to drown the gods, or pour water over them for days and weeks together. Sacrifice of buffaloes to a goddess at Trimbak, which had been stopped for some years, was resumed by the order of the Government at the instance of Brahmin devotees. When a man-eating tiger appeared on the Saptashringi Hill in the Nasik District, the Kamavisdar was ordered to consult the pleasure of the goddess, and if she consented, to employ men to shoot it.

A lizard having fallen on the body of the idol at Pandharpur, a great penance was ordered in which Brahmins took part. The sale of cows to butchers was strictly prohibited throughout the country. Some Mahomedans, who were guilty of breaking the law, were severely punished, and a Brahmin, who cut off the tail of a cow, was sent to prison. The revival of the old Yajnas, or great sacrifices, lasting over many days and weeks, was encouraged as being conducive to the prosperity of the State, and several large sacrifices were so patronised by the Government by the supply of all the necessary articles in cash and kind, costing several thousands of rupees. Shrines and temples multiplied in and about Poona, and the last portion of the Selections gives a list of some 250 temples, which were of sufficient importance to receive State-help in 1810-1811. The relative popularity of the several deities will appear from the analysis which shows that there were 52 temples of Maruti, the attendant of Rama, while Rama himself had 18 places of worship. The temples dedicated to Vishnu were 9, to Vithoba 34, to Krishna as Balaji 12. Rama and Krishna incarnations had thus 73 places of worship. The most popular gods with the Brahmins were Mahadeo who had 40 temples, and Ganpati who had 36 temples. Judged by the number of temples, the worshippers of Shiva and Vishnu were thus nearly equal. The old aboriginal gods had in all 32 places of worship; the Devi had 10; Dattatraya had only one temple for his worship, and there were 8 places of Mahomedan Dargas held in veneration.

Too great a tress should not be placed upon the accounts given above of the popular beliefs and superstitions. They were in keeping with the general condition of the country all over India, and no man or body of men should be condemned for simply following the current of the time. The Peishwa's government deserves credit for the inculcation of better principles and a more liberal social code adopted by them, and to the principal items of reforms attempted by that Government, we may now fitly refer here with advantage. In those times of wars and troubles, there were frequent occasions when men had to forsake their ancestral faith under pressure, force, or fraud, and there are four well-attested instances in which the re-admission into their respective castes, both of Brahmins and Marathas, was not merely attempted, but successfully effected with the consent of the caste, and with the permission of the State authorities. A Maratha named Putaji Bandgar, who had been made a captive by the Moguls, and forcibly converted to Mahomedanism, rejoined the forces of Balaji Vishvanath, on their way back to Delhi, after staying with the Mahomedans for a year, and at his request, his re-admission, with the consent of the caste, was sanctioned by Raja Shahu. A Konkanastha Brahmin, surnamed Raste, who had been kept a State prisoner by Haider in his armies, and had been suspected to have conformed to Mahomedan ways of living for his safety, was similarly admitted into caste with the approval of the Brahmins and under sanction from the State. Two Brahmins, one of whom had been induced to become a Gosawee by fraud, and another from a belief that he would be cured of a disease from which he suffered, were re-admitted into caste, after repentance and penance. These two cases occurred one at Puntamba, in the Nagar District, and the other at Paithan, in the Nizam's dominions, and their admission was made with the full concurrence of the Brahmins under the sanction of the authorities. In regard to temperance, it may be noted that the Brahmin Government of Poona absolutely prohibited the manufacture and sale of liquors as a general principle of action, but it was practical enough to make exceptions, when local necessities were pleaded by Bhandaries, Kolis and other communities in the territories conquered from the Portuguese in Bassein, Chowl, and other places. Exception was made in favour of these men, and the lower castes generally, but the order provided that Brahmins, Parbhus, and Government officers generally were to be strictly prohibited from the use of drink, and very heavy penalties were exacted from the offender who broke the law. Several Brahmins of Nasik, who were Dharmadhikaris of the place, were suspected of having indulged in drink, and as they proved

contumacious, they were sent to forts, and were imprisoned there by way of punishment. A rich Maratha patel in the Khed Taluka was warned once against the danger incurred by reason of his intemperate habits, and when this warning proved ineffective, half of his Inam land, measuring one Chahur, was confiscated by way of punishment.

As regards marriage reforms, it may be noted that Bajirao II passed strict orders specially for the Konkan District and for Wai, prohibiting the sale of girls by the bride's father in consideration of marriage. Very strict regulations were passed imposing fines, equal to the amounts received, upon one or both the parties and the marriage brokers. Apparently with a view to check the practice, Bajirao further ordered that no girl above 9 should remain unmarried, thereby claiming for the State the right to interfere in what is generally regarded as the province of the Shastras. In a few cases, where attempts had been made to marry young children by force, and the full rite was not completed, the Peishwas set aside the attempted marriages, and permitted the girls to be given to other more suitable persons. In one case, where a marriage alliance had been formally settled, and the bridegroom was afterwards found to be suffering from leprosy, the Peishwa's Government interfered, the betrothal was set aside, and the bride's father was permitted to give his girl to whom-so-ever he chose. It is also well-known that on Sadashivrao Bhau's disappearance on the battle-field of Panipat, his wife Parwatibai, who survived him, was allowed to retain all the insignia of wife-hood, till the day of her death, which took place in 1783, twenty one years after the disappearance of her husband, and the funeral rites of both the husband and wife were performed together on her death. This exhibition of chivalrous regard for the feelings of the lady in question is to be noted, specially because a Kanoja Pretender had appeared in the mean-while and claimed to be Sadashivrao Bhau himself, and had to be put down after great exertions by the Peishwa's army. After being once put in prison, he had escaped after some years' confinement, and raised a rebellion in the Konkan which was put down again in 1776, and he was sentenced to be trodden under foot by an elephant. Narayanrao Peishwa's widow was similarly allowed to remain without disfigurement for several years during the time she survived her husband's death. Though the Selections are silent on the point, it is well-known that the efforts, made by Parasharam Bhau Patwardhan, on behalf of his widowed daughter, to secure the consent of the Brahmins for her second marriage, found no opposition from the Peishwa. But Bhau had to give up his idea under pressure of his own female relations.

As between caste and caste, the Peishwas held the balance evenly, even when the interests of the Brahmin priests were affected. The right of the Sonars to employ priests of their own caste was upheld against the opposition of the Poona Joshis. The claim made by the Kumbhars (potters) for the bride and the bride-groom to ride on horse-back was upheld against the carpenters and blacksmiths who opposed it. The Kasars' right to go in processions along the streets, which was opposed by the Lingayats, was similarly upheld. The right of the Parbhus to use Vedic formulas in worship had indeed been questioned in Narayanrao Peishwa's time, and they were ordered to use only Puranic forms like the Shudras. This prohibition was, however, resented by the Parbhus, and in Bajirao II's time the old order appears to have been cancelled, and the Parbhus were allowed to have the Munja or thread ceremony performed as before. A Konkani Kalal or publican, who had been put out of his caste, because he had given his daughter in marriage to a Gujarathi Kalal, complained to the Peishwa, and order was given to admit him into caste. In the matter of inter-marriage, Balaji Bajirao set the example by himself marrying the daughter of a Deshastha Sowkar, named Wakhare, in 1760. The Peishwas in Shahu's time issued orders prohibiting alliances by way of marriages between second cousins, that is, the children of brothers and sisters, which practice seems then to have been in vogue in Konkan, and is continued to this day in many castes. The point to be regarded in all these instances is not to be estimated by the actual success achieved, but by the fact that these native rulers interested themselves in these matters, and showed considerable liberality in the orders issued by them to correct existing social evils. The right of the State to interfere in such matters was broadly claimed in one of these orders, when it was directed that when the Subha had ordered the exclusion of any person from his caste, the members of the caste had no right to take on themselves to set the order aside without reference to the Dewan, that is, to the State or the Central Authorities. In the case of those castes, where ordinary punishments could not be inflicted by reason of their being Brahmins or otherwise, the authorities under the Peishwa showed considerable skill, in supplementing the more lenient civil penalty by the employment of religious penances and fines. And it was in this connection that the order noted above was issued.

These brief notices of the social regulations attempted under the Maratha rulers with a view to promote the admission of converts, the practice of inter-marriage, the prohibition of the sale of girls, the enforcement of temperance, their policy in permitting a second gift of girls in-

formally married or engaged by force or fraud, the claim made by them to control the action of the castes and their independence, and the enforcement of equality in the treatment of different castes all these afford clear indications that social reform was not a subject about which the Maratha and Brahmin rulers were indifferent. They strengthen the view which the late Hon'ble Mr. Justice Telang first advocated in his 'Gleanings from the Bakhars' that in this respect these rulers showed greater moral courage and liberality of sentiment than what people are at present disposed to give them credit for, and that the advantages of English education may well be regarded as too dearly purchased, if our people, in this respect, show a more retrograde tendency or greater weakness of the moral fibre than commended itself to our ancestors only a hundred years ago. These notes on the Peishwa's Diaries may fitly conclude here.

The Civil, Criminal and Revenue administration of the Peishwas compares favorably with that of the best Hindu or Mahomedan rulers of the time. It was wanting, certainly, in the higher statesman-ship of Akbar or Shivaji, and it had the germs of its own dissolution implanted in it. Its fall was doomed when it lost touch of these higher traditions, and it had to fight the race of life with a stronger power. But for the time it lasted, the Government of the country was wisely and honestly administered on the whole, excluding, of course, the periods when internal dissensions disturbed the public peace. The hidden tendencies of caste exclusiveness and sacerdotal pride soon began to manifest themselves, and to this was joined an utter incapacity to realize the claims of a higher civilization, and to study the development of arts and sciences, and the advantages of a liberal social polity, and a purer religion. Our failure to realize this higher life brought on the final collapse long before any outside influences were brought to operate upon us. This seems to be the moral which the study of these papers is fitly calculated to teach the inquirer into our past history, and it will be well if all our writers and publicists would take that lesson to heart and profit by it.